1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

423 464 169 all of their families to live in the city, although they still maintained registration in the village. Others still maintain a household in the village, leaving an old mother or perhaps even a wife and daughters in the village house.

423 592 888 Other landless households consist of old people who, in the course of family division, left themselves landless by dividing their land among their sons. Such old people usually continue to live in their own house or apartment in the village and eat with their sons' families on a rotation basis.

423 434 464 In Hsin Hsing village there are many farming families who, like the landless, must engage in some form of supplementary activity to earn additional income. Of the 90 farming households, 40 cultivate less than 0.5 *chia* (1.2 acres) of land. (See Table 20.) Many of these families, and even some families which cultivate more than 0.5 *chia*, are too large for the income from so little land. To augment their income, some work as farm laborers and others as itinerant merchants, but most go to Taipei to seek work. In the near future the continued population increase and fractionalization of the land may force more and more of these families into the ranks of the landless.

423 • 511 Many of the benefits which should have resulted from the land reform—the rent reduction, the increased incentive to work the land, the increased crop production and the higher income from a greater application of fertilizer—are negated by a general rise in operating costs for the tiller. This is especially true for former tenants who bought land through the 1953 Land-to-the-Tiller Act; their annual payments on land purchased from the government come to a higher amount than would have been charged in rent (37.5 percent) for similar land. In addition, they now also bear all the operating costs on the land, which formerly were largely borne by the landlord. At the time of the research (1958) at least, this act in itself had not brought about any noteworthy increase in the standard of living.

Although the annual payments on the mortgage to the government do not exceed the 37.5 percent rent paid as tenants on private land or the 25 percent rent paid as tenants on the formerly public owned land, the financial burden is actually heavier than it was when the farmers were still tenants paying reduced rents. As Chang (1954:89–91) has pointed out,

> A new owner, so far as he has not fully paid the land price, is in fact a tenant. He has to assume a burden of duties and land price more than that of a bona fide tenant, and has to pay the operating expenses equal to those of a tenant, which are generally higher than those of owner-farmers. His income, too, like that of a tenant, is lower than that of owner-farmers. . . . The situation of new owners, within the coming ten years, will certainly be no better than that of tenants. But looking forward to [being a] full owner-farmer after ten years, when his burden will be only 14.32 percent of his

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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annual main crop, the new owner is mentally in a better situation, and socially he has climbed to the rank of owner-farmer.

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Often, villagers who have purchased land under the reform program do not really consider themselves its owners. Besides knowing that they are not yet reaping any increased income from the land, many have a "seeing is believing" attitude. They will believe that the government has made it possible for them to own the land when they no longer have to pay on the mortgage and when they earn an income from the land equivalent to what an owner-farmer earns. They recognize what the future may hold for them as "real owners," but, in the meantime, the burden is extremely heavy.

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Villagers who work outside Hsin Hsing have done more to raise the standard of living than has the decrease in tenancy. The increased use of cash has also led to an apparent rise in living standards. In Japanese times, villagers tended to save their money toward future land purchase. Today, people no longer save money for fear of inflation; instead, they are using their cash to purchase tangible goods—bicycles, more and better clothing, and so on, are increasingly in evidence in the rural area.

THE NATURE OF PRIVATE-OWNERSHIP LAND

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The 29.5567 *chia* of privately owned land in Hsin Hsing village falls into three categories: (1) individually owned, 35.5 percent of the total private land; (2) jointly owned, 61.5 percent of the total; and (3) corporate or community owned, only 3.2 percent of all the private land owned. (See Table 24.) This classification and the percentages for each type in Hsin Hsing approximate the situation in Taiwan as a whole (T'ang, 1954:98–107).

The system of individually owned land is rather simple, since it consists of portions of land legally owned by one individual who, in most cases, represents a family. On all land records this land is always listed in the name of that one owner. As can be seen in Table 24, very little of the land individually owned in Hsin Hsing is house or road land; it is almost all cultivated land.

Joint-ownership land in Taiwan is one of the most complex forms of private ownership to record and keep track of. It is a common phenomenon making up the largest percentage of the privately owned land in Hsin Hsing as well as in Taiwan. A plot of land is owned jointly by from two to hundreds of individuals. Each joint owner will own a portion of the plot—one-third, one-fifth, or one-twelfth, and so on. In many cases, in Hsin Hsing at least, the joint owners do not own equal shares. Each joint owner may work his share independently or in small groups according to family relationship.

Under the land reform record-keeping system, rather than register-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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with which these adoptions occur, it is obvious that the *sinosiv* system of marriage is not "despised," even though economic circumstances are an important motivational factor. Nor does it seem to loosen the ties of affinal relationship; on the contrary, it seems in some ways to strengthen them. Since the *ch'in ch'i* relationship is accepted as a consequence of either a marriage or an adoption, the *sinosiv* system simply has the effect of establishing it earlier than a regular marriage would.

In the Hsin Hsing area I have found no evidence, either, of any real dislike for the system by either set of parents. The girl's parents benefit by saving the expense of rearing an extra girl child whom they are unable or unwilling to support as well as by saving the cost of a wedding or of providing a dowry. The boy's parents gain a household worker, are spared the normal marriage expenses, and, in addition, have the advantage of raising their future daughter-in-law under their own roof. Since the villagers feel that the most common cause of family division is a dissatisfied daughter-in-law, a son's wife who has grown up since childhood as a member of the family is much less likely to want or to try to force a division of the family. In effect, the *sinosiv* system is felt to conduce to the attainment of the ideal joint family, while not in the least impairing (in Hsin Hsing) the usual establishment of *ch'in ch'i* relationships.

Despite all this, there are indications that the *sinosiv* system is becoming less frequent in Hsin Hsing and other areas of Taiwan. Further, even where such adoptions have taken place in recent years, it is noticeable that more and more often the girl is married out when she reaches normal marriageable age, rather than being married to the son of her adoptive parents. The trend seems to be quite recent, and there are a number of possible reasons for it.

Keeping in mind Lang's (1946:127) and Fei's (1939:54–55) explanations for the *sinosiv* system of adoption and marriage, we can observe resemblances in several important recent developments in rural Taiwan. First, there have been notable changes in demographic patterns there, in recent decades especially, which have affected sex ratios (see Chapter 2) for both Hsin Hsing village and area and for Taiwan generally (Barclay, 1954b:212, Table 60). The ratio of women to men has gradually increased until there is by now almost an equal proportion of each, which makes the problem of finding a suitable wife for a son much less serious than it used to be. This great increase in the proportion of females is closely related to the decline of infant mortality rates as a result of better public health facilities and of the generally better economic climate and consequent higher standard of living which has been notable mainly during the past decade. The economic circumstances to which Lang and Fei attribute the persistence of the *sinosiv* system are thus moderated. Both of these factors, the increased

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Both of these factors, the increased number of females and the improved financial conditions, mean that brides are both easier to find and easier to afford. As a result, *sioasiv* adoptions are less and less frequent, and girls originally adopted under the system tend more and more to be married out. Contributing to this latter tendency is the increasingly open opposition of young people to having their marriage partners imposed upon them arbitrarily by their parents. The opposition is likewise made possible by the improvement in economic opportunity for young people, in this instance by the growing ease of urban migration.

Probably some dislike for the system has always been present among the young people for whom *sioasiv* marriages were arranged. From the time of adoption the girl is treated as a member of the family—in other words, like a daughter, not a daughter-in-law. In the Hsin Hsing area, when the marriage is definitely decided upon the young couple are apprised of it. The girl is usually in her early teens at this point. Suddenly, then, the young people are confronted by a change in their relationship; no longer are they brother and sister, but potentially man and wife, with a whole new set of behavior and attitude patterns to absorb. At the very best, the situation is awkward for them. Much like a normal engaged couple, they develop an avoidance relationship; they may no longer remain alone in the same room and show increasing embarrassment in each other's presence, especially when others are around. If they are seen together anywhere, they are usually subjected to a good deal of teasing by friends and neighbors as well as their relatives. And, living in the same household, the pressure of maintaining the avoidance pattern is much greater than anything ever experienced by the usual engaged couple, who may scarcely know each other by sight before the wedding day. The couple entrapped by the *sioasiv* system undergo constant embarrassment, and as a result they often develop a resentment against each other that culminates in a strong preference for marriage to someone else entirely.

Formerly, the young people could not easily or openly express their opposition to the match, since they had almost no option but to do exactly what their families and elders had planned for them. Furthermore, they knew that if a *sioasiv* marriage had been arranged for them, this was usually because there was no other form of marriage possible, given their circumstances.

The recent demographic and economic changes in Taiwan have radically changed things for such young people. Now, thanks to the decreased necessity for such adoption marriages and the concomitant increase in economic opportunity for the young, they are increasingly able to express their opposition to a system which is not consistent with the modern tendency for allowing young people a much greater say in the choice of their marriage partners.

In Hsin Hsing, for example, one current reason why *sioasiv* adop-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

It becomes evident then that there has been significant change in the traditional Chinese value toward the land held earlier. Were it not for fellow villagers and *ch'in tsu* who still are critical of those who sell off their land in the indiscriminate manner in which it is so often done today, and for those villagers who still prefer the village and the agricultural way of life, it would be tempting to deny almost completely any residue of the feeling of "reverence or intimacy" toward the land which the peasant may have held in the past.

The villagers' attitude toward education is another evidence of the lack of real attachment to the land and village. Education to them means a way to rise above the life of a farmer or farm worker, although they do not necessarily expect it to raise them to civil service or elite status. Their primary interest in education is the attainment of an easier life, financial betterment, and power for the individual family. Thus, typically, village farmers want their daughters to marry businessmen. Education has far less inherent value of its own per se than it had in the Confucian tradition, and the materialistic ambitions are against the tradition as well.

Today there are few well-educated villagers who remain active in village affairs in the Hsin Hsing area. Usually, they go into business outside the village or accept employment in local government, such as in the district Public Office. When a man establishes a business outside the village area, as we saw happening after the land reform, he usually shifts his social as well as his economic interests. Once he accepts a position in local government, the educated villager tends to become cliquish and spend most of his time with high-status fellow government employees. Because of his position, he may be called upon by his village to help in certain problem situations, but generally, he takes little interest in most of his village's affairs and does little to furnish leadership. To a great degree nowadays in rural Taiwan, as a result of the new paths to status, education has come to have consequences contrary to the traditional function of education in the society. It now tends to foster greater individualism and detachment from the village and the local larger kinship group, and at times even from one's family.

This attitude held toward the village by the educated man who, usually, is financially well off, begins during earlier student days. Almost immediately upon entering middle school, the bond between the student and his fellow villagers weakens—that is except for those who happen to be school chums. Thus, only in a limited number of cases do middle school graduates serve as leaders or innovators in their village. The relatively better educated village members rarely enrich any of the village community functions, nor do they by their own

family's giving serious consideration to many socially acceptable alternatives.

The most obvious reason for this concern with social continuity and the reason which is most easily stated by the villagers themselves, is economic security. The village of Hsiachichou is not impoverished, but neither is it affluent. The line between the rich and the poor separates those who eat rice at a meal and those who must mix their rice with sweet potato. As the villagers themselves would put it, "Everyone here has something to eat, but no one can afford to eat out of the middle of the pan." With the exception of those families who have the advantages of neither land nor education, and who are as a result forced to earn a living as coolies or coal miners, the people of Hsiachichou are able to support themselves fairly comfortably. The majority of village houses are constructed of brick with sturdy tile roofs; many village families own a radio or phonograph; a number of families have their own water supply in the house and one has installed an electric pump; and all but the very poorest of village families own at least one bicycle, adequate if not comfortable furniture, and are able to meet their social obligations with appropriate gifts and invitations. What the average family in Hsiachichou does not have is the financial ability to accumulate savings. Their income is adequate to feed, clothe, and house themselves in a reasonably comfortable manner, but there is no surplus out of which a family can create a reserve. When faced with a major expenditure occasioned by a serious illness, a marriage, the funeral of a senior member, or the need to

• 511 426 build a new house, most families are forced to borrow money. As a local wit said, "In times of crisis the clever have to depend upon the stupid and the stupid have to depend on Tien Kung." Only the wealthiest three or four families in the community are in a position to fall back upon their own resources in an emergency.

593 602 888 One of the effects of living in such an economy is that no matter how hard a man may labor during his lifetime he will still be unable to accumulate the means to support himself in his old age. The most the average villager can expect is to be able to save enough money to buy himself a respectable coffin. He must depend upon someone else to support him when he is no longer able to work, and the only people who can be trusted to do this are his own children. There are no government or philanthropic agencies to which a man can turn for aid in his old age, nor can he expect much of his kinsmen. If a man lived all of his life with his brothers, contributing to the support and education of their children, these children would be obliged to support him in his old age, but if the family was divided, as is almost always the case, he could not expect even his brother's children to come to his aid. The mutual support which characterizes kinship relations in Hsiachicou assumes reciprocity. One cannot expect help from relatives when the situation is such that they cannot expect a return within a reasonably short period of time. When we asked villagers if they would support an elderly relative whose sons had died, they typically replied that "a person ought to do that." When we asked if they thought that their own relatives would support them if their sons died,

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 7

DECISIONS BY GRANDPARENTS

When a child is born in Hsiachichou his natal family has the choice of raising him as a member of the household, or giving him in one or another of the various forms of adoption. How often do people in Hsiachichou choose to give away their children? How often do they relinquish their male children, and how often do they part with their female children? When they choose to give away a male child, do they usually give him in adoption to an agnate or sell him to a stranger or a dealer? Are female children usually married out of the family as "little daughters-in-law," or are they more commonly sold to families which want a daughter? Are some children more likely to be given out in adoption than others? If so, what are some of the considerations which increase a child's chance of adoption? As a result of changes which have taken place in Hsiachichou during the course of the past several decades, the answers to these questions depend in large part on whether we are looking at decisions made early in the century or those made more recently. We will therefore begin by considering those decisions made in the years before 1930, and will leave until the following chapter those decisions made after 1930.

Before 1930 the village of Hsiachichou was a poor if not an impoverished community. Although most of the villagers earned their living as farmers, no family owned more than one acre of land, and most

less than half an acre. Many were tenant farmers who owned no land at all, cultivating the fields of wealthy landlords in return for some percentage of the annual yield of the land. Until the relocation of the Taipei Hsinchu railroad in 1923, a few landless families made a living transporting local goods down the Tamsui River to markets in Wanhua, Hsinchuang, and Taipei. The only opportunities for industrial employment were in the coal mines of Tucheng and Hsinchuang, and the work there was often sporadic and always poorly paid. The generally low standard of living in Hsiachichou was reflected in the construction of village homes. Although kiln brick and tile had been inexpensively produced in the Taipei region for at least a hundred years, there was no one in Hsiachichou who could afford to build a brick house or to roof his house with tile. Houses were built instead of wattled mud and roofed with thatch. It was not until the early 1920's that the first brick and tile house was constructed in Hsiachichou, and the use of these materials did not become common until the end of the next decade. Of the 47 houses in Hsiachichou in 1935 only 15 boasted a tile roof, and of these only 4 had more than one brick wall. As the older villagers so often put it in describing their former condition, "We were the kind of people who had to sell our rice and eat sweet potatoes."

Living so close to poverty and yet aware of the luxuries enjoyed by their landlords and the wealthier merchants, many families in Hsiachichou must have been tempted to sell one of their male children as a biēng-liēng-kiá:. There was always a ready market for male children on Taiwan, and the price they commanded was for most village families

nothing less than a small fortune. A go-between acting for some local party could usually get as much as a year's income for a male child, and dealers who bought male children on Taiwan for resale in Amoy would sometimes offer even more. The returns from the sale of a male child would at the very least enable a family to replace a thatch roof with tile, and it might even finance the purchase of a small plot of land or provide the capital for a small business undertaking. Since a family's regular income went almost entirely for food and other daily essentials, it was only by such means that a family might obtain the capital for any major investment. We must also remember that it was not the parents of the child who decided his fate. Most children are born during that phase of the family cycle at which their grandparents are still alive and active, and in the years before 1930 this senior generation had complete and final authority over all decisions concerning marriage and adoption. Although one can understand that a parent with only one male child would be reluctant to sell him for any price, one can imagine that a grandparent with several grandchildren might find it somewhat easier to part with one of his sons' male children.

While there were good reasons for a family to sell one of its male children, there were even more important considerations weighing against such a decision. As we have seen in the last chapter, male children are the focal concern of the Hokkien family. It is by means of his male descendants that a man fulfills his most important responsibilities as son and grandson, and it is with reference to his male offspring that a person calculates the achievement of his own lifetime. If a

In the first place, as we have already suggested earlier, most families living in Hsiachichou at this time were so poor that they could not afford to be unconcerned about the costs of raising a female child, for this expense might make it difficult for them to realize other and more important goals. A family had to think first of providing for their heirs and descendants, their sons and grandsons, and this often meant adopting girls to raise as their wives, a role which a family's own daughters could not fulfill. Except in the case in which a family did not have male children, it was a luxury for them to raise a daughter "for someone else," and most families could not afford luxuries. Secondly, there was the fact that those persons who would naturally feel most strongly about the welfare of the children, their parents, were not in a position of authority with regard to decisions concerning adoption. In the years before 1930 the authority for making such decisions rested with the head of the family, and in the course of the typical family cycle the head of a child's family was usually her grandparents rather than her own parents. While they were undoubtedly not entirely unconcerned about the welfare of their female grandchildren, most grandparents were probably not as concerned as the child's own parents. More importantly perhaps, their age and experience, as well as their position of responsibility, gave the grandparents a different perspective. The parents of a child were likely to look at the decision concerning her adoption in terms of the child's welfare and their personal concern; the grandparents were likely to look at the decision from the point of view of the family's

ultimate goals and overall responsibilities. The result was that most female children were given out in adoption despite the fact that this committed them to an unhappy life. Whatever fears a child's parents may have had about her fate as an adopted daughter could not save her because they were not the decision makers, and even if they had been it is doubtful that they could have done other than give the child away. Most families were so constrained by their limited means and their goals that there was little room for concern about the child's personal welfare.

In the years since 1930 this situation has changed considerably. For one thing, the poverty which forced many families to give away their female children as a means of conserving their resources has been greatly alleviated. Most of the villagers of forty and fifty years ago earned a living as tenant farmers, but the post-war population of the village has included a number of skilled workers, several families with fairly large land holdings, several school teachers and petty officials, and a dozen or more families who own small and fairly prosperous businesses. Even those who still earn a living on small land holdings and as laborers are now earning more and living somewhat more comfortably than did their fathers and grandfathers. The general improvement in conditions in Hsiachichou is apparent in an improved diet, the widespread use of bicycles and radios, and most strikingly in the construction of village houses. The thatch roofs and wattled walls of the early decades of the century have been almost entirely replaced by tile and kiln brick. Of 49 houses in Hsiachichou

in 1960 only 8 had one or more mud walls, and none of the 49 were roofed with thatch. The average family is still not so well-to-do that they can afford to raise many daughters, and a daughter is still generally regarded as "something to lose money on." The difference is that now many families can afford the luxury of losing money on one or two of their daughters without sacrificing other values.

An equally important change has also taken place in the authority structure of the kē. Although the senior generations of the family still usually occupy the position of kā-tíu:, they have lost much of their authority over decisions concerning adoption. These decisions are now most often made by the child's own parents. As in the case of marriage, the senior members of the family still exert a considerable influence, and in a few cases the younger members of the family may leave a decision up to their parents. But while the grandparents are thus often able to negotiate the decisions they prefer, they are no longer able to dictate the disposition of their grandchildren. A woman who is now in her forties told us that when she was married her mother-in-law told her that she could only keep one of her daughters, and that she would have to give the rest in adoption. This could not happen today. A persuasive mother-in-law with firm control of her son might succeed in getting a daughter-in-law to give away several of her female children, but a strong willed daughter-in-law could probably manage to keep all of them if she so desired. As one of the older men complained to us, "Young people now won't listen to their parents. They do what they want to do. You can't tell them to do this or that.

bad points of the sim-pûa form of marriage, and then makes his decision in terms of his own reckoning. His culture sets for him some of his goals and limits his means of achieving these goals, but he decides between the available means as a free agent, depending for his guidance upon his own judgment and his own grasp of the facts. Our problem here has not been to discover why certain cultural solutions have been formulated and why most people accept these solutions; our task has rather been one of why individual village families select one line of action as more advantageous than another.

An important consideration which enters into any decision about marriage and adoption is the relative cost of the alternatives. We have seen that one of the reasons a poor family is more likely to adopt a sim-pûa for a son is because it is the cheaper way of obtaining a daughter-in-law, and we have also seen that the costs of raising a child is one of the most common reasons for giving away female children in adoption. Why should this be so? Why should the economic consequences of any choice play such an important role in these decisions? The obvious answer is that Hsiachichou is a poor community in a market economy, but we wonder if this is the whole answer. A universal medium of exchange provides a people with a sensitive scale for comparing the economic consequences of various actions. One can say that buying a male child from a dealer is ten times as expensive as adopting a son from an agnate, and one can compare in a precise way the relative cost of alternative forms of marriage. We wonder if economics would be as important a variable if the people of a community were able to weigh

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some of the other consequences of their actions in a similarly precise manner. We have seen that the relative tension of the in-law relationship within the kē is one of the considerations which enters into the choice between the preferred form of marriage and the sīm-pûa marriage. Is it not possible that this consideration would carry even more weight in their deliberations if the villagers were able to discuss the relative degrees of tension in quantitative terms? While not denying that economic considerations are an important determinant of human action, we would argue that their importance may be magnified by their clarity, both to the practitioner and his alien observer.

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Another consideration which often enters into these decisions derives from the fact that marriage and adoption are public acts. Marriage may be thought of as a union between a man and a woman and as an alliance between families, but it must also be considered as taking place in a community. Indeed, in the case of the preferred marriage in Hsiachichou, the event is something more than a public act; it is a public performance. The bride price and the dowry are displayed and carried through the streets; the bride arrives at her husband's home with a procession of friends and relatives; there are several feasts which are attended by hundreds of people; and there are always crowds of onlookers whose primary function is to praise and condemn. As a consequence, a family must always consider what the community is going to say about their decision and the way in which it is implemented. Will they gain face by making this choice rather than that one, or will they be chancing a loss of face? Which alternative would be most likely to enhance their

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Mrs. Lim answered, soothingly, "Now, Ng, your temper is thin, but my son is not a bad person. It is just that we have no money. The money we got from the pig had to go to people we borrowed money from and we still owe them more money. My poor son is the only one earning money in our family and he has to feed us all. We have to borrow a little each month just to have enough to eat. He only makes NT$700* a month and you can't feed six people on that."

Several of the loungers began at this point to calculate just how much money would be needed to feed a family the size of Mrs. Lim's, and the consensus of opinion was that her son's income was indeed not up to the job. Mr. Ng did not join in these interesting calculations but continued to rub his head and make frustrated comments about the store, debtors, fate, etc. He finally growled at the group in general, "Oh, this store! This store! This store just can't give people food if they don't give it money!"

Mrs. Lim smiled at him sympathetically, and said, "Well, if you had a store in the city, you could do things that way, but not in the country. In the country you have to let people have things whether they have money or not. I know it is hard on you, but you just have to do it that way."

Several members of the group agreed with Mrs. Lim and informed Mr. Ng of it. Mr. Ng began to get red in the face again and spoke very loudly to Mrs. Lim. "You calculate how much interest it would cost you if you borrowed two thousand dollars a year. You just see how much interest that would be every month. Now, I don't charge you a single bit of interest, do I? Do I?"

Mrs. Lim looked genuinely horrified at the thought and readily agreed that he did not charge interest. Mr. Ng continued, "So now all I want is my money. You just give me the money and not the interest—just the money so that I can go buy more things for my store. When you go home, you tell that son of yours to bring me my money and I will be happy. I don't care if you never buy anything from me again, but I want my money. I won't say anything about that stupid nephew of yours who has three people in the family that are working and still comes and buys on credit and never pays me back."

* At this time the exchange rate for New Taiwan dollars (NT$) was about forty to one United States dollar. For a village family of two adults and two children approximately NT$800 would provide an average living, with very few luxuries.

-494 their families are permitted to ride. The narrow-gauge railroad was eliminated and coal is now hauled by trucks. 655 The government Wine and Tobacco Monopoly was establishing a branch tobacco processing factory half way between Talei [464] Li and Hsin Tien just as we were leaving Taiwan. This was expected to open additional employment opportunities in the immediate area.

• 511 Sanlei village is now enjoying its greatest economic prosperity according to all objective indicators. Moreover, health care is better than ever before in history and the death rate is at its lowest point (see next section). Educational opportunities too have reached a 648 peak. Nevertheless, the period of the Japanese occupation 829 has been greatly romanticized. Men over 35 are proud of [191] their ability to speak Japanese and a few long for the [186] return of the Japanese. Middle-aged villagers argue that they have been ruled by "outsiders" for a long period of 648 time, first the Japanese and then the Mainlanders. More- 829 over, many agree that the Japanese did a better job for 511 they claim under Japanese control, prices were more stable, officials were more honest, and one did not fear robbers. One fifty-year old man in a group once said that when the Japanese were here, one day's labor paid for three day's basic living but that now it took two day's labor to pay for three day's basic living. The group all nodded in agreement. Since this statement failed to accord with the

511 other kinds of physical evidence, we contrasted the average
648 day's wage and the average cost of rice and pork under the
829 Japanese and under the current conditions and by computation proved that a day's labor now bought more pork or more rice than it had under the Japanese. The men felt that there was either something wrong with their memory of rates or prices or that our figuring now was incorrect. They knew they earned more under the Japanese in real income. It is plain that the facts and beliefs are not in accord. Probably adding to the romanticization of the period is the fact that the Japanese were few in number when compared with the Mainlanders. In a typical week for instance, only about a dozen or so Japanese appeared in Talei Li. Today, with the Communication Bureau, the school, the police, and various salesmen, several hundred Mainlanders may be observed in a single week.

171 Government propagandists, the schools, and the army
186 are all engaged in an attempt to overcome the antagonisms
648 on both sides. The incidence of inter-marriages between groups is increasing. The eventual goal of the government is a united Taiwan but success is not certain. Chinese history provides many examples of two culturally different groups, racially near identical, living side by side in the same area for hundreds of years while preserving distinct identities. For example, a minority group of Hakka have maintained and still maintain a separate ethnic and

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592 The plans of the above house also reveal a final pattern. A single dwelling may contain many households. As family division occurs, maximum flexibility in room assignment can be achieved because many rooms have an external entrance. Since there is no plumbing, any room can easily become a kitchen. In spite of division, internal doors will seldom be blocked off unless a portion of the building is rented out to someone who is not a relative although this is relatively rare, only two cases in Sanlei village. There will seldom be more than one kung t'ing in a single dwelling unit. Internal bearing walls, those marking the regular ten and fifteen foot dimensions, are heavy and extend from floor to ceiling. Other internal walls are plywood, about six feet high, commencing one foot off the ground. The room arrangements tend to allow little real privacy but do promote circulation of air in hot weather.

Personal Property

• 511 In addition to the above, it seems worthwhile to cite a few figures with reference to material possessions to indicate the economic prosperity of the village. The use of certain key items as an economic index is a normal
511 technique in assessing prosperity. For example, the United
207 Nations Statistical Yearbook indicates that the number of radios in Taiwan increased from 77,000 in 1953 to

207 1,402,000 in 1967 (1969:782) and television sets, from
• 511 16,000 in 1963 to 164,000 in 1967 (1969:784). Figures for Sanlei indicate the village has shared this growth pattern. The number of radios increased from less than a dozen in 1953 to 41 in 1966. Two out of every three households now have a radio and since radios are played loudly, the village is rarely silent during the day or evening. Two television sets were installed in 1965. The one at the village store faces the street so that a group of villagers can watch the programs.

40 Other items may also indicate both the level of
412 prosperity and the kind of economic activities. Among the
493 409 people (66 households) there are 5 motorcycles, 69
511 bicycles, 30 sewing machines, 55 clocks, 37 electric fans, and 15 electric rice steamers. Farming equipment includes 9 threshing machines, 18 plows, 7 winnowers, 39 insecticide sprayers, 8 hand harrows, 7 foot harrows, and 161 hoes. Since almost everyone is a part-time farmer, there are only about five households in the village without a hoe although a hoe is the only piece of farm equipment
426 owned in several households. Borrowing tools from relatives, friends, and sworn brothers is a regular custom.

511 Every household appears overcrowded with furniture,
352 tables, benches, chairs, cabinets, etc. Beds usually con-
513 sist of a straw mat or a tatami (hard thin straw mattress) on a wooden platform. Some beds are quite large; occasionally, a single bed may exceed 8' by 10'.

• 511 There is little doubt that the villages appear quite prosperous and people are not afraid to spend money.

Health and Sanitation

743 As stated previously, there has been a tremendous
744 decrease in the death rate. No small part of this decrease is due to improved health care, both personal care and public health facilities. With the help of the J.C.R.R. (Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction), a health station serving the village has been established in Hsin Tien. This station provides assistance in pregnancy and birth control as well as some treatment of disease and
[842] injury. It will also provide and insert Intrauterine Devices (I.U.D.) at a cost of $30.00, a day's pay for a woman. However, Sanlei village women prefer a private hospital, also in Hsin Tien, which charges $120.00. The latter center provides more privacy and personal attention and also guarantees to refund the fee if there is rejection of the device or provide treatment without charge in the event of bleeding.

744 There are also educational programs to stimulate intensive village health and sanitation practices. However, sanitation techniques in the village are not always in accord with knowledge. For example, all village adults know that the water should be boiled for ten minutes before drinking it. However, although almost no one drinks

264 fields, especially if the field is quite distant or the activity is a particularly demanding one such as harvesting or transplanting. The food may be carried in a tin or may be brought to the workers by a woman or a child.

178 262 511 Everyone agrees that the diet now is the best and richest in village history, both daily and especially for the Pai Pai (religious festivals, see Chapter VIII) on special days. It is often remarked by villagers and professional economist alike that one of the first things a Chinese peasant will do with increased income is improve his diet. "Engel's Law" states that in a subsistance economy, over half of the income will be spent on food. It does seem that Sanlei figures are still close to this 262 511 [463] percentage of income spent on food. It also appears that the non-agricultural workers have a better and richer diet than the farmers, although their net worth is much less. The poorest diets are in households which do not include a vigorous young to middle-aged man. The only exception 262 524 556 is the rich tea processor who farms by hiring labor. The poorer householders do obtain better food than their financial condition might warrant by the village custom of inviting guests on special days. There is no expectation that a poor man will invite a rich man to dinner. Conversely, a rich man should invite a poor man to eat. The poorer households benefit by the fact that one way a rich man earns prestige is in accordance with the number of guests he serves at a banquet.

562 serious status inconsistency problem. After graduation
882 from grade school, girls can immediately find jobs with
[464] good pay in the factory while there are few equivalent opportunities for boys. Villagers sometimes claim that today, perhaps girls are worth more than boys.

Household Money Management

• 511 We had several households[5] keep detailed budgets
125 for us and periodically discussed budgets with all villagers. Among farmers, it is quite difficult to accurately discover the standard of living for they consume part of their crops without any purchase records and barter other items. The families with wage incomes are easier to evaluate and I have extrapolated from them to determine reasonable standards for the village.

592 Given the values usually associated with Chinese households, i.e., patrilocality, patriarchy, and a patrilineality, it might be logically predicted that a senior male would usually assume major responsibility for financial management of the budget but Sanlei data would refute the prediction as indicated in Table 4.

592 In 39.7% of the households, a man was primarily
593 responsible for managing the budget. In some cases, he gave his wife a periodic allowance for groceries and in others, he did most of the purchasing himself. In either case, he doled out money as requested for special

592 ice, she may spend it on herself by buying a luxury item
593 like a piece of jewelry, or she may just put it aside for
[262] security in her old age and also invest it in money lend-
426 ing clubs (see Chapter VI) or the post office. Several
454 women have accumulated quite large sums of personal money.
888

Although some village men have evening part-time activities that produce income, the money earned thereby is expected to go into the regular family pool. Thus, although men can more easily tap the family pool for their own wishes, only women have a source of money and retain savings which is exclusive.

Household Budgets

• 511 The following section contains a discussion of the yearly income and expenditures of the Liao Mou-tu family which was previously introduced as one of the wealthiest
[592] in the village. Members include Liao Mou-tu, his three sons, their respective wives, and the four children of each son for a total of 19 people (see Figure 5). The figures in Table 5 are rounded for convenience and include a profit and loss statement and statement of net worth. Currently, the family has no meaningful debts.

511 The family netted about $6,500.00 for the year as
592 indicated in Table 5. Since there were four adult males,
462 the money they expended hiring farm laborers about equaled the money they earned by hiring out. The three wives in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

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Table 5. Financial Statement, Liao Mou-tu Chia

Net Worth

$ 110,000	.8 chia self-owned paddy field
36,000	.3 chia self-owned dry field, vegetables
162,000	1.8 chia self-owned improved slope land
50,000	improvements on 2.1 chia leased slope land
5,000	self-owned house and garden land
30,000	building, pig pen, share of kung t'ing
15,000	furniture and household contents
5,000	farm equipment
1,500	current worth of livestock
6,200	credits at farmers' association and cooperative
2,000	cash on hand
$ 422,700	Net Worth (Omits value of crops in field)

Yearly Income

$ 30,000	Oranges
5,000	Hogs
8,000	Tea
3,500	Bamboo Shoots
10,000	Wood
2,000	Vegetables
$ 58,500	Yearly Cash Income

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Yearly Expenses

$ 21,000	Food purchased to supplement own crops
6,400	Food and drinks for special celebrations
1,200	Educational Fees (six children in school)
2,500	Medical expenses (one son was quite ill)
6,000	Fertilizer
2,000	Insecticide
400	Farm tools
3,000	Weddings, funerals, sworn brothers, etc.
1,500	Taxes not in kind
500	Rent for water buffalo
800	Rent on land
1,200	Transportation of oranges to market
1,000	Electricity
1,200	Cigarettes, wine, tea
1,500	Contributions to temple, school, civic works
1,800	Clothing
$ 52,000	Net Expenses

Yearly Net Profit (Income less Expenses)

$ 6,500

511 592 462 the household are also important contributors to income by means of a rotating division of labor. One is responsible for the children and cleaning for five days; one is responsible for cooking and washing; and one is free to work in the fields. Every five days they switch jobs although all three prefer the relative freedom of the work in the fields. There are five other such rotating work teams in the village and many other pairs who share some rotating responsibilities.

511 Although the Liao Mou-tu family does not appear to have earned a meaningful surplus, the figures are deceiving for the family has invested very heavily in the orange trees (requiring much labor) which have not yet reached full production. Also, this past year, they jointly with Liao Mou-tu's brother, cleared and prepared land and planted 600 banana trees although none have yet matured. The family will soon move into a much higher income bracket but has firm plans to continue investing any surplus in land and land development.

[454]

The above family might be contrasted with that of Liao Kao-mu who lives near the temple and represents the middle status level in the village. His household includes his mother, wife, and two female children. He owns .3 chia of mountain field on which he has planted oranges but which as yet have produced no return and he commutes 24 days per month to Taipei where he is employed as a

[592]

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• 511 janitor and small repairman for a university building at
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465 $1,300.00 per month. He repairs miner's caps (lights) in the evening in his spare time for two of the mines and nets about $200.00 per month and also works about 3 to 4 days per month as a farm laborer at a daily rate of $50.00. His wife works periodically picking tea or weeding and subject to seasonal variation, earns about $2,500.00 per year. His mother earns another $2,000.00 yearly as a
[434] mid-wife. The total yearly income is about $24,600.00.

511 The family is renting a house and houseland up the
[244] hill at one end of the village which has some nearby land on which the family raises sweet potatoes and vegetables
[262] for personal consumption. Sweet potatoes are an important part of their daily diet but usually in conjunction with
[235] rice. They also raise several chickens (about 15 at a time) and eat some and trade others.

Monthly expenses just about match monthly income.
[466] Liao Kao-mu's job provides an excellent health insurance
[745] plan for the entire family which eliminates medical expenses. The family's future plans are to continue his job which is reasonably secure and features periodic raises and a yearly bonus. The mountain field mortgage is now over 80% discharged and in another year will be in full production. As soon as it is free and clear, he plans to purchase another piece of mountain land and has already

511 talked to the township office about its acquisition.

842 Although both Liao Kao-mu and his mother are upset, his wife is currently employing an Intrauterine Device in order to prevent pregnancy. Liao wants another child or two, at least one boy, but as he says, there is not much one can do about it. His wife says she will probably have another child when the baby of the family is about three or four years old.

511 [383] [572] A third contrast is with the family of Lin An-hwei, a Mainlander who is an adopted-in husband. In his home
511 463 465 are his wife, her parents, and his four children. He is a skilled dynamiter in the mine and earns $100.00 per day or an average of about $2,600.00 per month which would be sufficient to put the family in the middle status group in the village if Lin were not a Mainlander. He does no farming but does help around the house by tending the children. His wife has a small vegetable garden (about 20 feet square) for the kitchen and also works as a laborer picking tea and weeding and earns about $5,000.00 [434] per year. The family income totals over $31,000.00 each year.

511 736 However, the family is deeply in debt because the two old parents are nearly blind and have recently had heavy medical expenses. The current situation in this family illustrates the previously discussed problem of the high dependency ratio in the village. Four small children

• 511 and two nearly-helpless old people are all dependent on
736 the labor of two mature adults, one of whom must spend a major portion of her time in nurturing activities.

511 The family diet is fairly rich and Lin An-hwei
[262] shares a bottle of beer each evening with another village
[273] Mainlander. Since the bottles are big, they take turns
[435] buying one but the cost to Lin's family still exceeds $250.00 per month. Before the recent medical expenses put them so far in debt, the family was doing quite well finan-
[525] cially but was not investing in land or business. They ate well and Lin gambled once a month with five Mainlanders who lived in the area and he also bought many lottery tickets. His gambling and participation in the lotteries have ceased but he continues to drink.

[888] The expensive medical treatments have been given up as part of the immediate plans of waiting for the old ones to die. After paying for their burial expenses, there are no further plans other than discharging the family debts.

511 The final contrast is with members of the lowest
621 class group in the community in terms of economics al-
565 though the village class structure is not sharply demarcated. Villagers will usually claim that everyone is nearly the same in the village but when pressed, will point out a few families who are somewhat richer than average and several families which are very poor but usually

511 621 565 qualify any such remarks with a statement that everyone in Sanlei is poor. The families which are usually considered poor and most clearly set apart from the general village population are those which do not have a vigorous adult member.

735 There is considerable cooperation in supporting the seven poorest families of the sixty-six families in the village. As previously described, poor people are often guests at the pai pai in their neighbor's homes. There are also reductions in the prices they pay for goods and services as illustrated by the previously discussed case of the barber and free haircuts. Additionally, both village stores charge less than the normal price and often put items on a charge account with no expectation they will ever be paid. The most important aid however is with regard to food and wood for poor families are permitted to grow sweet potatoes on little plots of land they do not own but which otherwise might be left unused. If no one in the family is capable of working the plot, farmers who pass by will regularly contribute little increments of labor to manage the plots. The poor are also permitted to help themselves to certain products, particularly the poor grade vegetables and gleanings and wood although the theft of wood and vegetables by anyone who was not poor was probably the chief source of conflict in the village.

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735 These practices are not obvious to the casual ob-
556 server for much is done to preserve "face." Since anyone who begged would necessarily lose face, there must be an avoidance of either asking for items or of offering items in a manner which suggest the receiver has need of them. Clothes are given to someone for example, because they no longer fit. Someone announces in a group that some of his vegetables are going rotten in the field because there is no one available to pick them. However, careful watch is kept on those who help themselves and since everyone's financial condition is well known, few people other than the poor are permitted to take advantage of the situation. Those who benefit most from these customs are usually widows or old men who have never married.

• 511 In summary, there does not appear to be anyone in
621 an extremely poor position economically in Sanlei village. Although some people are much better off than others, the differences in clothing, daily diet, and style of life are
[648] not great and no one ever appears to go hungry. There is
[529] some nostalgia for the period of the Japanese occupation when prices were said to be much lower but in fact, it appears that everyone is eating better and richer foods than ever before in history for although prices are high-
[735] er, so is income. The system of pai pai with many invited
[574] guests helps the poor to share the prosperity as does the reduction in the cost of goods and services, all leveling

• 511 factors in the distribution of community resources so that
621
[735] everyone shares in the prosperity. Finally, the continued
[814] development of land and the industrialization nearby all
[464] offer so many job opportunities that just about anyone
that wants to work can earn a living.